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FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6723
INFO USCINCSO QUARRY HTS IMMEDIATE
SECDEF WASHDC
JCS WASHDC
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E. 11652: GDS TAGS: MASS, MPOL, XX, AR SUBJECT: SECURITY ASSISTANCE REPORTING REQUIREMENTS: ARGENTINA

REF: (A) STATE 167901 (B) STATE 168320 (C) STATE 182987

SUMMARY AND INTRODUCTION. UNDER LEGISLATION CURRENTLY DUE TO TAKE EFFECT ON OCTOBER 1, 1978, ARGENTINA WILL NOT, ON HUMAN RIGHTS GROUNDS, BE ELIBIBLE TO RECEIVE FMS CASH OR CREDIT, IMET TRAINING OR LICENSES FOR EXPORT OF MUNITIONS LIST ITEMS. IN THE POSSIBILITY HUMAN RIGHTS CONSIDERATIONS WILL PERMIT REOPENING THE MILITARY ASSISTANCE PROGRAM TO ARGENTINA AND IN ORDER TO HAVE PERTINENT INFORMATION ON THE ARGENTINE MILITARY AND POST'S SECURITY ASSISTANCE MANAGEMENT ORGANIZATION ON RECORD, WE ARE SUBMITTING THE FOLLOWING REPORT. AT PRESENT THE MISSION INCLUDES A SIX-OFFICER MILGROUP WHICH IS ADMINISTERING ON-GOING PROGRAMS AND WILL CONTINUE TO HANDLE PIPELINE ITEMS CONFIDENTIAL.

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FOLLOWING THE OCTOBER 1 CUTOFF. DUE TO THE IMPORTANCE AND INFLUENCE OF THE ARGENTINE MILITARY FOR REASONS ENUMERATED IN THIS REPORT, THE MILGROUP WILL CONTINUE TO PLAN AN IMPORTANT ROLE IN MAINTAINING ACCESS TO AND COMMUNICATION WITH HOST COUNTRY ARMED FORCES. END SUMMARY AND INTRODUCTION.

3 A (1) US INTERESTS. THE ARGENTINE ARMED FORCES HAVE HISTORICALLY PLAYED A VERY IMPORTANT ROLE IN THE POLITICAL LIFE OF THE NATION. SINCE THE 1930S THEY HAVE ALTERNATED GOVERNMENTS WITH ELECTED CIVILIANS AND EVEN WHEN NOT IN POWER TEND TO ACT AS OVERSEER OR GUARANTOR TO CIVILIAN ADMINISTRATIONS. AT PRESENT THE MILITARY IS AGAIN IN POWER AND LIKELY TO REMAIN FOR THE IMMEDIATE AND FORE-SEEABLE FUTURE. FOR THAT REASON US BILATERAL RELATIONS AND POLICIES ARE NECESSARILY CONDUCTED THROUGH THE ARMED FORCES. ARGENTINA'S IMPORTANCE TO US SECURITY INTERESTS DERIVES FROM ITS GEOGRAPHIC LOCATION ON THE SOUTH ATLANTIC, ITS POSITION ASTRIDE THE STRAITS OF MAGELLAN, ITS ECONOMIC IMPORTANCE AS A POTENTIAL "BREADBASKED" FOR THE THIRD WORLD AND PETROLEUM SUPPLIER IN THE NEAR TERM. AND ITS TECHNOLOGICAL CAPABILITY IN THE NUCLEAR AND INDUSTRIAL AREAS. ARGENTINA IS ALSO STRONGLY ANTI-COMMUNIST AND CONCERNED WITH OFF-SETTING SOVIET-CUBAN INTERVENTION IN THIRD WORLD AREAS. THE CURRENT MILITARY GOVERNMENT HAS TRIED TO IDENTIFY ARGENTINA WITH THE WEST IN PURSUIT OF WESTERN DEMOCRATIC GOALS AND ECONOMIC SYSTEMS, AND ORIGINALLY SOUGHT TO STRENGTHEN TIES TO WESTERN NATIONS AS LOGICAL PARTNERS AND ALLIES. THE EXISTENCE OF HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES IN ARGENTINA, HOWEVER, HAS OBSTRUCTED RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES AND HURT ARGENTINA'S IMAGE IN WESTERN EUROPE AND THE US. US SECURITY ASSISTANCE SUPPORTING THE MODERNIZATION AND CONFIDENTIAL.

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PROFESSIONAL EDUCATION OF THE ARGENTINE ARMED FORCES HELPS PROVIDE THE HOST GOVERNMENT WITH THE MILITARY STRENGTH AND STABILITY NECESSARY TO DETER COMMUNIST-INSPIRED OR - SUPPORTED INCURSIONS IN ARGENTINA AND INDIRECTLY THROUGHOUT SOUTH AMERICA. IN ADDITION, TRAINING IN THE US TO SOME DEGREE EXPOSES THE ARGENTINE MILITARY TO US VALUE SYSTEM AND DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS WHICH ARGENTINES ADMIRE AND EXPRESS A DESIRE TO EMULATE.

3 A (2) THE THREAT PERCEIVED BY THE HOST GOVERNMENT.
THE ARGENTINE GOVERNMENT PERCEIVES AS A MAJOR THREAT
BOTH INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL COMMUNISM. IT IS ALSO
SERIOUSLY CONCERNED OVER THE DISPUTE WITH CHILE OVER
BORDER AND SOVEREIGNTY RIGHTS IN THE BEAGLE CHANNEL AREA.
CURRENT BILATERAL NEGOTIATIONS ON THE ISSUE ARE AT AN
IMPASSE AND BOTH COUNTRIES ARE BELIEVED TO BE REINFORCING
TROOPS AND SUPPLIES IN THE EVENT OF AN OUTBREAK OF
HOSTILITIES. ARGENTINA IS ALREADY PUTTING ECONOMIC
PRESSURE ON CHILE AND INCREASING SURVEILLANCE ON MIGRANT
CHILEAN WORKERS IN ARGENTINA. OTHER EXTERNAL DISPUTES -THE MALVINAS (FALKLAND) ISLANDS WITH GREAT BRITAIN AND
SHARED WATER RESOURCES WITH BRAZIL--ARE PERENNIAL BUT

CURRRENTLY LESS VOLATILE PROBLEMS. THE PERCEIVED COMMUNIST THREAT HAS TAKEN ON NEW PROPORTIONS OF LATE. THE ARGENTINE MILITARY GOVERNMENT VIEWS THE SOVIET/CUBAN SUCCESSES IN AFRICA AS BEING THE FIRST STEP TO SUBJUGATION OF THAT AREA AND A PORTENT OF THE RENEWAL EFFORTS TO ERECT COMMUNIST REGIMES IN LATIN AMERICA. THE ARGENTINES HAVE BEEN ENGAGED IN A BITTER INTERNAL WAR TO PUT DOWN LEFT-WING SUBVERSION WHICH HAS TERRORIZED THE COUNTRY SINCE THE LATE 1960S. ECONOMIC CHAOS, RAMPANT TERRORISM AND THE INABILITY OF THE PERONIST GOVERNMENT TO COPE BROUGHT THE COUNTRY CLOSE TO ECONOMIC COLLAPSE AND ANARCHY IN 1975 AND EARLY 1976. THE INTERNAL THREAT OF TERRORISM-BELIEVED TO BE COMMUNIST-INSPIRED--AND URBAN GUERRILLA WARFARE POSED BY THE MONTONEROS AND ERP HAVE LARGELY CONFIDENTIAL.

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BEEN DEFEATED ALTHOUGH BOMBINGS, ASSASSINATIONS AND DISAPPEARANCES STILL OCCUR. THERE IS CONCERN IN THE GOVERNMENT THAT THE MILITARY DEFEAT OF SUBVERSIVE FORCES WILL SIMPLY FIND THE LATTER INCREASING THEIR EFFORTS TO INFILTRATE THE NATION'S INSTITUTIONS AND LABOR MOVEMENTS WITH THE INTENTION OF SPARKING OFF CIVIL

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UNREST AND OPPOSITION TO MEASURES IMPLEMENTED BY THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT.

3 A (3) MISSION'S PRECEPTION OF THE THREAT. THE EXTENT OF COMMUNIST SUPPORT OF SUBVERSIVE ELEMENTS IS DIFFICULT TO DETERMINE, ALTHOUGH AVAILABLE DATA CONFIRMS CONNECTIONS OF ARGENTINE TERRORIST GROUPS TO OTHER LEFTIST TERRORIST "LIBERATION" MOVEMENTS ABROAD. ARGENTINE CONCERN OVER THE REVIVAL OF SOVIET-CUBAN ASSISTANCE TO SOUTH AMERICAN REVOLUTIONARY TERRORIST GROUPS AS AN ADJUNCT TO ITS AFRICA POLICY IS UNDERSTANDABLE.

3 A (4) HOST COUNTRY MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT NEEDS.
THE CURRENT ARGENTINE MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT IS APPROPRIATE
TO THE COUNTRY'S NEEDS, INSOFAR AS ARGENTINA CAN COMBAT
THE PERCEIVED INTERNAL COMMUNIST THREAT AND STAND
READY TO THWART POTENTIAL SOVIET-CUBAN DESIGNS ON THE
REGION. AS FOR THE LATTER THREAT, ARGENTINA REALIZES
THE COOPERATION AND POLICIES OF THE WESTERN WORLD ARE
ESSENTIAL TO CONTAIN COMMUNIST EXPANSION IN THE THIRD
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WORLD. WITHIN THE ARMED FORCES, A MODERNIZATION PROGRAM IS NOW UNDERWAY. IN-COUNTRY PRODUCTION OF MILITARY EQUIPMENT IS BEING ACTIVELY PROMOTED, E.GMN PUCARA/COUNTERINSURGENCY AIRCRAFT. TAM TANKS. ETC.

3 A (5) MISSION ASSESSMENT. ARGENTINA'S ARMED FORCES APPEAR TO BE CAPABLE OF DEFENDING THE COUNTRY AGAINST ANY INTERNAL OR REGIONAL EXTERNAL THREAT. THE STRUCTURE AND EQUIPMENT OF THE ARMED FORCES WOULD LEND ITSELF TO BEING EASILY INTEGRATED INTO A MULTINATIONAL MILITARY FORCE. GOA STRATEGIC INTERESTS FOR THE MOST PART APPEAR TO PARALLEL US INTERESTS.

- 3 A(6) DEFENSE SPENDING AND THE ECONOMY.
- 1. DEFENSE EXPENDITURES AS A PERCENTAGE OF THE BUDGET WERE 14.7 PERCENT IN 1977 AND ARE SCHEDULED TO INCREASE TO 14.9 PERCENT IN 1978. DEFENSE EXPENDITURES AS A PERCENTAGE OF GDP WERE 2.8 PERCENT IN 1977 AND ARE SCHEDULED TO INCREASE TO 2.9 PERCENT IN 1978.
- 2. THERE ARE NO FIGURES ON THE LEVEL OF MILITARY IMPORTS.
- 3. ARGENTINA HAS NO FOREIGN EXCHANGE OR DEBT SERVICING PROBLEMS. ITS RESERVES CURRENTLY ARE EQUAL TO 16 MONTHS OF IMPORTS AND ARE AMONG THE HIGHEST IN THE WORLD BY ANY STANDARD COEFFICIENT.

3 A (7) PROJECTION OF DEFENSE ARTICLES AND SERVICES. SEE FY 80-84 MSAP.

3 A (8) ASSESSMENT. ALL ITEMS PROJECTED ARE INTENDED FOR FORCE MODERNIZATION AND/OR REPLACEMENT OF OBSOLETE CONFIDENTIAL

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ITEMS. BUYER INTENDS TO USE ITEMS TO MAINTAIN A VIABLE MILITARY FORCE CAPABLE OF DEFENDING NATIONAL INTERESTS.

3 A (9) ECONOMIC IMPACT. IN VIEW OF THE FACT THAT
US LEGISLATION SCHEDULED TO GO INTO EFFECT OCTOBER 1
WILL DENY THE GOVERNMENT OF ARGENTINA FMS CASH AND
CREDIT AND EXPORT LICENSES FOR MUNITIONS LIST ITEMS, IT
IS UNLIKELY GOA WILL ACQUIRE ANY MILITARY EQUIPMENT OR
TRAINING FROM THE US IN THE FY 1979 TIME FRAME. GOA
HOWEVER WILL CONTINUE TO FULFILL ITS EQUIPMENT AND
TRAINING NEEDS THROUGH PURCHASES FROM ABROAD. GOA'S
DEFENSE EXPENDITURES AS A PERCENTAGE OF GDP ARE SMALL
AND THE IMPACT ON ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT GOALS AND FOREIGN
EXCHANGE RESERVES IS NEGLIGIBLE.

3 A (10) ARMS CONTROL IMPACT. THE ARMS CONTROL IMPACT WOULD NOT APPEAR TO AFFECT REGIONAL STABILITY AND PROPOSED ACQUISITIONS WOULD NOT INTRODUCE NEW CAPABILITIES INTO THE REGION. HOWEVER CONTINUED PROCUREMENT OF MILITARY ITEMS BY LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES FROM AGGRESSIVE AND UNRESTRICTED THIRD PARTY SALESMEN (OTHER THAN US) COULD LEAD TO ARMS IMBALANCE AND AN ARMS RACE.

3 A (11) HUMAN RIGHTS ASSESSMENT. THE ARGENTINE
GOVERNMENT'S HUMAN RIGHTS RECORD IS A MAJOR IMPEDIMENT
TO CLOSE BILATERAL TIES. THE MILITARY GOVERNMENT'S TOP
PRIORITY UPON TAKING OVERIN 1976 WAS TO ERADICATE
TERRORIST GROUPS WHICH WERE RESPONSIBLE FOR WIDESPREAD
ASSASSINATIONS; INTIMIDATION OF THE UDICIARY, THE MILITARY,
AND FOREIGN AND LOCAL BUSSINESSES, KIDNAPPINGS AND EXTORTION.
THE ANTI-TERRORISM EFFORT WHICH EVOLVED INCLUDED ABDUCTIONS,
TORTURE, PROLONGED DETENTION WITHOUT CHARGE UNDER THE
COUNTRY'S STATE OF SIEGE PROVISIONS, SUMMARY EXECUTION
AND HARASSMENT OF PERSONS BELIEVED TO BE LEFTIST
IDEOLOGUES. DESPITE THE FACT THAT THE GOVERNMENT
OFFICIALLY CONSIDERS THE TERRORISTS HAVE BEEN ALL BUT
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WIPED OUT, AND THE NUMBER OF SECURITY OPERATIONS HAS CORRESPONDINGLY DROPPED. THE ABOVE-MENTIONED PROCEDURES ARE BELIEVED TO BE STILL EMPLOYED, PRIMARILY AGAINST PERSONS SUSPECTED OF SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES. THESE FACTORS LED TO THE PASSAGE OF LEGISLATION WHICH WILL DENY TO GOA FMS SALES AND CREDITS TRAINING AND COMMERCIAL LICENSES FOR MUNITION LIST ITMS EFFECTIVE OCTOBER 1. US VOTES IN THE INTER-NATIONAL FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS AND WITHHOLDING EXIM BANK CREDITS HAVE ALSO REGISTERED OFFICIAL US DISPLEASURE WITH GOA'S HUMAN RIGHTS RECORD. IN PUBLIC AND PRIVATE STATEMENTS, GOA OFFICIALS MAINTAIN THAT THE LONG-TERM TREND IN ARGENTINA IS TOWARD THE RESTITUTION OF DEMOCRACY AND DUE PROCESS. US MILITARY ASSISTANCE, PARTICULARLY FOR SPARE PARTS WHICH ARE CRUCIAL TO THE ARGENTINE ARMED FORCES AND FOR TRAINING WHICH IS CONSIDERED HIGHLY DESIRABLE. CAN BE AN IMPORTANT TOOL, IF CAREFULLY APPLIED, TO PROD GOA TO EFFECT IMPROVEMENTS WE CONSIDER NECESSARY IN THE HUMAN RIGHTS FIELD AND TO BRING PRESSURE AGAINST THOSE IN THE MILITARY WHO WISH TO EXPAND THE LIST OF GROUPS AND PERSONS TARGETED AS SUBVERSIVES. (THE LEVERAGE IS ADMITTEDLY LIMITED BY ARGENTINA'S FERVENT NATIONAL PRIDE AND STRONG FINANCIAL POSITION, PLUS THE EASY AVAILABILITY

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OF EQUIPMENT AND TRAINING FROM NON-US SOURCES.)
IMPLEMENTATION OF THE KENNEDY-HUMPHREY ARMS EMBARGO AND
OTHER SANCTIONS AGAINST ARGENTINA COULD CREATE A

NATIONALISTIC CHAIN REACTION RESULTING IN A MOVE TO EXPEL THE MILGROUP, NOTWITHSTANDING THE POST-WORLD WAR II HISTORICAL DESIRE OF THE ARGENTINE ARMED FORCES TO HAVE A CLOSE RELATIONSHIP WITH THE US MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT. UNTIL THAT COMES ABOUT, HOWEVER, AND IN VIEW OF THE REPORTING REQUIREMENT CITED IN PARA 4 (2) OF STATE 182987, WE ARE SUBMITTING THIS PAPER WITH AN EYE TO RETAINING RESIDUAL MILITARY TIES TO THE DECISION-MAKERS OF GOA.

3 A (12) MILITARY ASSISTANCE FROM OTHER SOURCES.
MILITARY ASSISTANCE IN THE FORM OF PURCHASED TRAINING AND
ASSISTANCE IS RECEIVED MOSTLY FROM SPAIN, ITALY, FRANCE,
GERMANY, ENGLAND AND ISRAEL. ARGENTINA IS SUFFICIENTLY
WELL-OFF SO AS NOT TO RECEIVE ANY BILATERAL ECONOMIC
ASSISTANCE

3 A (13) CONFIDENTIAL

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(A) MINIMUM LEVEL (LEVEL I)
FY 79 *6 80 FY 81 FY 82

A. IMET \$100,000 \$110,000 \$120,000 \$130,000

B. FMS 4,000,000 4,000,000 5,000,000 5,500,000

C. DESCRIPTION: FUNDING AT THIS LEVEL WILL BE ONLY SUFFICIENT TO MAINTAIN, AT A VERY LOW LEVEL, OUR WANING INFLUENCE WITH THE ARGENTINE ARMED FORCES. IT WILL PERMIT ONLY THE HIGHEST PRIORITY TRAINING, MAINTENANCE OF EQUIPMENT SAND SPARE PARTS.

D. RISK ASSESSMENT: THE ARGENTINE ARMED FORCES WILL HAVE TO PURCHASE EQUIPMENT AND TRAINING FROM THIRD COUNTRIES TO MAINTAIN ITS MODERNIZATION PROGRAM. THE TRADITIONAL TIES BETWEEN ARGENTINA AND THE US IN TERMS OF MILITARY TRAINING, EXCHANGES AND SALES WILL BE SUBSTANTIALLY DIMINISHED.

#E. MANPOWER REQUIREMENTS: THREE OFFICERS AND THREE LWR SECRETARIES TO ADMINISTER THE PROGRAM.

(B) INTERMEDIATE LEVEL (LEVEL II)

FY 79 FY 80 FY 80 FY 82

A. IMET# \$700,000 \$750,000 \$800,000 \$800,000

B. FMS 10,000,000 11,000,000 12,000,000 13,000,000

#PLUS APPROVAL OF ALL CASH TRAINING.

C. DESCRIPTION: THIS FUNDING LEVEL PERMITS ACCOMPLISHMENT OF ALL TECHNICAL AND MAINTENANCE TRAINING AND MOST

PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT TRAINING OF MIDDLE-GRADE OFFICERS. SOME BADLY NEEDED EQUIPMENT SUCH AS HEAVY LIFT HELICOPTERS, CONFIDENTIAL

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PATROL BOATS AND PILOT TRAINING AIRCRAFT CAN BE PURCHASED FROM THIRD COUNTRIES.

#E MANPOWER REQUIREMENTS: SIX OFFICERS, ONE US AND THREE LWR SECRETARIES. INCREASE IN WORKLOAD DUE TO ADDITIONAL TRAINING AND PURCHASE OF NEW EQUIPMENT REQUIRES THIS MANNING LEVEL.

(C) CURRENT LEVEL (LEVEL III)

ARGENTINA HAD NO FMS OR IMET PROGRAM FOR FY 78. THE MILGP STAFF OF SIX OFFICERS, TWO US AND 8 LWRS IS CURRENTLY ADMINISTERING THE FY 77 PROGRAM OF \$36 MILLION IN FMS AND \$750,000 FOR IMET AND OTHER ON-GOING PRORAMS FROM EARLIER YEARS.

A. RISK ASSESSMENT: THIS WOULD ALSO INHIBIT STANDARDIZATION WHICH WOULD WEAKEN ANY MULTINATIONAL FORCE. A COMPLETE BREAK WOULD IMPACT ADVERSELY ON US NATIONAL SECURITY IN THE EVENT A THREAT DEVELOPED WHICH REQUIRED ARGENTINE COOPERATION TO COUNTER. IN ESSENCE, IT MAY DENY TO THE US THE ASSISTANCE OF AN ALLY WHO COULD DIRECTLY SERVE TO BOLSTER US SECURITY IN A MULTINATIONAL HEMISPHERIC DEFENSE EFFORT.

(D) INCREMENTAL LEVEL (LEVEL V)

FY 79 FY 80 FY 81 FY 82

- A. IMET \$950,000 \$950,000 \$950,000 \$950,000
- B. FMS 45,000,000 45,000,000 45,000,000 45,000,000

C. DESCRIPTION: ALL DESIRED TRAINING IN THE US AND PANAMA CAN BE OBTAINED. PURCHASE OF EQUIPMENT FOR FORCE MODERNIZATION CAN PROCEED ON A PROGRAMMED BASIS WITH THE US BEING THE MAJOR SUPPLIER.

D. BENEFIT ASSESSMENT: STANDARDIZATION OF TACTCS AND EQUIPMENT WITH THE US IS ACHIEVED AT THIS FUNDING LEVEL, RESULTING IN AN IMPROVED DEFENSIVE POSTURE FOR THE AMERICAS. INCREASED CONTACT WITH US CULTURE AND CONDITIONS CONFIDENTIAL

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COULD PROVIDE THE ARGENTINE MILITARY PERSONNEL WITH A BETTER UNDERSTANDING OF THE AMERICAN VALUE SYSTEM AND POLITICAL SYSTEM.

#E. MANPOWER REQUIREMENTS: SIX OFFICERS, SIX LWR SECRETARIES. INCREASE IN WORKLOAD RELATED TO ADDITIONAL TRAINING AND EQUIPMENT REQUIRES THIS MANNING LEVEL.

#NOTE: THESE MANNING LEVELS DO NOT INCLUDE PERSONNEL NECESSARY FOR OTHER ADMINISTRATIVE FUNCTIONS, I.E., OFFICE MANAGERIAL FUNCTIONS TO INCLUDE BUDGETING, PERSONNEL FILES, TYPING AND MAINTAINING CLASSIFIED INFORMATION AND FILES, ETC. THIS REQUIRES TWO US PERSONNEL, ONE CIVIL SERVICE SECRETARY AND ONE OVERALL SUPERVISOR.

- 4. IMET PROGRAM
- A. TECHNICAL TRAINING 6-12 ENLIST
- B. MAINTENANCE TRAINING 9-15 OFFS; 12-18 ENL.
- C. SPECIALTY TRAINING 12-18 OFFS; 15-24 ENL.
- D. PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT

TRAINING 30-45 OFFICERS

E. THE ARGENTINE ECONOMY IS IN THE PROCESS OF RECOVERING FROM NEAR DEFAULT ON ITS INTERNATIONAL DEBT. INFLATION IS CURRENTLY NEAR 130 PERCENT A YEAR. IF ALL TRAINING HAD TO BE PURCHASED THERE WOULD BE SOME COURSES THAT WOULD HAVE TO BE CANCELLED BECAUSE OF OTHER HIGHER PRIORITY REQUIREMENTS FOR THE SAME FUNDS. CASTRO

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